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The Creative Tradition

Indian Handicrafts and Tourist Art.





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Foreword

The role of a museum in preserving our heritage goes far beyond serving merely as a "closet of curiosities" filled with relics of bygone days. Artifacts preserved in museum collections constitute a record of a people's cultural history as surely as any written document. An important part of a museum's function is the presentation of historical information contained in its collections through exhibitions and publications.

The exhibition, *The Creative Tradition: Indian Handicrafts and Tourist Art*, documents changes which occurred in the material culture of western Canadian Indians in the post-European contact period. These changes reveal much about the nature of Indian-European interactions in this period. The historical perspective of the study provides vital keys to the understanding and appreciation of contemporary Indian culture.

It is important to realize that for most of the post-contact period Indian people were not creating their own written records of the events in which they were participants. The artifacts that they created are their historical documents. The careful preservation of these artifacts therefore must rank as a primary responsibility of institutions such as the Provincial Museum of Alberta.

Mary J. LeMessurier
Minister, Alberta Culture

The Creative Tradition

Indian Handicrafts and Tourist Art.

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Introduction

It has been just over 200 years since Indians of the subarctic and the northern plains areas of western Canada entered into continuous direct contact with Europeans. In this time period Indian cultures in these areas have experienced extensive acculturation, or modification, as a result of contact with European culture. *The Creative Tradition* views these modifications from the perspective of material culture. The focus of interest is both on the kinds of changes that have occurred and the specific agents influencing the changes.

Four phases of change in Indian material culture in western Canada are described under the topics "Early Contact," "Civilization," "Commercialization," and "Revitalization." During the early contact period Indians adopted and adapted a wide range of new materials and tools which were introduced by traders and explorers. The arrival of missionaries early in the nineteenth century initiated a period of directed cultural change in which an attempt was made to eradicate Indian culture entirely and replace it with the values and ideals of European Christian civilization. Missionary-run schools were an important part of the attempt to bring about the assimilation of Indian cultures. Indian students literally became apprentices in Christian civilization and in the course of their education became familiar with European agricultural and domestic material culture. In the twentieth century a distinguishable Indian material culture based on handicrafts has developed as a result of the complementary processes of commercialization and revitalization. Artifacts of Indian manufacture found ready local sales in western Canada in spite of the fact that the Canadian government initially provided assistance only to develop markets for craftwork from eastern reserves. The renewed interest of Indian people in asserting a separate identity in the latter half of the twentieth century has further encouraged the development of distinctive artifacts which serve as symbols of that separate identity.

The cumulative result of this long process of change is a contemporary material culture that is identifiably Indian while at the same time it embodies within it evidence of each phase in its development. The adoption of new technologies and materials, a process which began in the earliest period of contact, has been an obvious trend that may obscure continuity that does exist in Indian material culture. Equally, the continued use of "traditional" materials, techniques

and decorative motifs may obscure significant changes in the ways in which they are used. A canoe retains the same function in Indian culture even though there may have been changes in the tools and materials used in its manufacture. On the other hand, a birch bark picture frame or souvenir plate made for the tourist trade would have had little or no meaning in pre-contact Indian culture. The process of substitutive change in materials and techniques was accelerated in the second phase during which material expressions of Indian ways or cultural values were often deliberately discouraged.

This century has seen a revival of interest in Indian crafts encouraged by the processes of commercialization and revitalization. The result has not been, however, a return to an Indian material culture unmodified by centuries of contact. As well, both processes leading to a renewal of interest have sometimes tended to blur distinctions between regional Indian cultures. Standardization of what constitutes Indian material culture was encouraged during the early commercialization period by marketing programs designed to supply the tourist industry with recognizably "Indian" crafts. More recently, interest by Indian craftworkers in affirming their Indian heritage has led to widespread borrowing of material objects and styles which are generally recognized as Indian, whether or not they have been historically identified with the craftworker's own or other Indian groups. At the present time there is a growing tendency towards the recognition of a greater scope for individual expression in the ways in which such motifs are used or modified.

The title *The Creative Tradition: Indian Handicrafts and Tourist Art* describes the historical processes of change and adaptation which have predominated in the development of Indian material culture in the post-contact period as well as the categories of artifacts in which these processes are best exemplified. From an historical perspective the tradition reflected in material culture is not the survival of traits from aboriginal times but the creative integration of old and new which has continued to the present day.



Subarctic Algonkian

Subarctic Athapaskan

Plains

Early Contact

The first contact Indians in western Canada had with European culture was often indirect. Those Indians living on or near Hudson Bay could trade at Hudson's Bay Company posts established on the western shore of the bay in the seventeenth century. Indians far inland, in the area that is now Alberta, first obtained goods through trade with Cree and Assiniboiné middlemen to the east in exchange for furs which the middlemen then sold at the bay.¹

The situation changed quickly in the late eighteenth century. Traders from Montreal had begun travelling to the west in the mid-eighteenth century and bartering for the best furs from the Indians before they went to Hudson Bay. In 1774 the Hudson's Bay Company finally responded to the competition by building a post on Cumberland Lake in north-eastern Saskatchewan. By 1800 the Hudson's Bay Company and their Montreal-based competitors had built a string of posts across western Canada to the eastern foot of the Rocky mountains. From the late eighteenth century to the present no Indian groups in western Canada have avoided direct contact with Europeans and their culture.

The effects of contact with fur traders and explorers were somewhat different for Indians in the forests of the subarctic region compared to the Indians on the plains. The valuable small furs sought by the traders were in the north and that became the area of most intensive direct contact.

In the subarctic native peoples added commercial fur trapping to their economy early in the contact period. They grew accustomed to using a wide variety of European trade goods in their daily lives. The list of trade goods sent to Cumberland House, the first inland post of the Hudson's Bay Company indicates that European weapons, metal tools, utensils, clothing and a variety of decorative and luxury items such as beads, lace, vermilion, rings and tobacco were available in exchange for furs at the beginning of direct inland trades (Figure 1).² In addition to these goods were items prepared at the posts, for example, arrow heads from barrel hoops and tinkle cones from worn out metal kettles. Such trinkets were often given to Indians as gifts rather than traded.

Early fur trade journals from western Canada suggest that Indians soon became very dependent on European goods. Daniel Williams Harmon, writing in 1802

Plate 3. Chipewyan Indians preparing a moose hide at Christina Lake, Alberta. (*Public Archives of Canada, File PA-17946*)



YORK FORT AMERICA ANNO DOMI. 1777.¹

TRADING GOODS SENT TO CUMBERLAND HOUSE.

Awl blades	No.	288	Glasses looking Gilt		
Buttons coat	doz.	3	Paper	No.	30
waistcoat		6	Gartering	yds.	36
Bayonets	No.	288	Hatchets middling	No.	122
Boxes tobacco oval iron		18	small		66
Blankets		39	Horns Powder $\frac{3}{4}$ lb.		15
Brandy eng.	Gall.	420 $\frac{3}{4}$	Hooks fish		200
Bells hawk	pr.	72	Kettles 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Gall.		4 15 lb.
Beads small round white	lbs.	10	2 do.		4 17 lb.
small round blue		6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ do.		1 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
small round red		6	Knives Yew handle		294
small round yellow		6	large roach		288
do. green		6	large long		84
barley corn white		3	Lace worsted	yds.	72
black		2	Lines net	No.	20
red		2	Needles		300
Green		2	Powder Fine	lbs.	361 $\frac{1}{2}$
yellow		2	Pumps	pr.	1
Cloth broad white	yds.	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	Rings stone	No.	36
red corded		100 $\frac{3}{4}$	Rundlets 2 Gall.		8
red		151	Scissars	pr.	4
blue		103	Shirts white strap	No.	10
blue corded		159 $\frac{1}{2}$	check strap		6
Combs ivory large	No.	84	Stockings wor. knit	pr.	4
Chizzels ice broad		30	Steels Fire	No.	72
narrow		66	Shot duck	lb.	175
Duffels blue	yds.	20	bristol		685
red		20	low India		196
Flannel		6	Tobacco brazil		1461
Files flat	No.	74	Thread		1
Flints eng.		1516	Twine fine	sk.	14
Guns 4 foot		9	coarse		36
3 $\frac{1}{2}$		8	Vermilion	lb.	4
			Worms Gun	No.	72

about the Indians in the Swan River district of western Manitoba, stated:

The Indians in this quarter have been so long accustomed to use European goods, that it would be with difficulty that they could now obtain a livelihood, without them. Especially do they need firearms, with which to kill their game, and axes, kettles, knives, etc. They have almost lost the use of bows and arrows; and they would find it nearly impossible to cut their wood with implements, made of stone or bone.³

Having become accustomed to using European firearms, of course, the need to replenish supplies of powder and shot, and to have repairs made, kept Indians coming back to the posts.

Plains Indians adjusted to European influence rather differently than their subarctic neighbours. Lacking valuable furs they did not become trapping specialists. Their main commodity for barter was dried buffalo meat and fat for making pemmican. The advent of direct trade therefore meant only a greater exploitation of the resource traditionally the basis of their economy and at least in the early stages of contact they were able to maintain considerable independence from the Europeans. Duncan M'Gillivray, in charge of the North West Company's Fort George on the North Saskatchewan river near the present-day Alberta-Saskatchewan boundary, recorded the following comments after trading with a group of Blackfeet and Blood Indians on November 26, 1794:

The Inhabitants of the Plains are so advantageously situated that they could live very happily independent of our assistance. They are surrounded with innumerable herds of various kinds of animals, whose flesh affords them excellent nourishment and whose Skins defend them from the inclemency of the weather, and they have invented so many methods for the destruction of Animals, that they stand in no need of ammunition to provide a sufficiency for these purposes. It is then our luxuries that attract them to the Fort and make us so necessary to their happiness. The love of Rum is their first inducement to industry; they undergo every hardship and fatigue to procure a Skinfull of this delicious beverage, and when a Nation becomes addicted to drinking, it affords a strong presumption that they will soon become excellent hunters. Tobacco is another article of as great demand as it is unnecessary.--Customs has however made it of consequence to them as it

constitutes a principal part of their feasts and Superstitious ceremonies, and in these treaties of Peace and councils of War, a few whiffs out of the medicine pipe confirms the articles that have been mutually agreed upon.--As for am-
unition it is rendered valuable by the great advantage it gives them over their enemies in their expeditions to the Rocky Mountains against the defenceless Slave Indians who are destitute of this destructive improvement of War. It is also required to Kill Beaver, but if the Fur Trade had not allured adventurers to this Country there would be no necessity for hunting this animal.--The rest of our commodities are indeed useful to the Natives, when they can afford to purchase them, but if they had hitherto lived unacquainted with European production it would not I beleive diminish their felicity.---⁴

Harmon, this time writing about Indians on the Fishing Lakes of the Qu'Appelle River, Saskatchewan, in 1804 noted:

...those Indians who reside in the large Plains are the most independent and appear to be the happiest and most contented of any People upon the face of the Earth. They subsist on the Flesh of the buffaloe and of their Skins they make the greater part of their Cloathing, which is both warm and convenient.⁵

One of the clearest indications of the different relationships between Indians of the subarctic and plains region with regard to Europeans comes from the Edmonton House district report for 1815 in which the Hudson's Bay Company trader wrote that they saw individual Plains Indians about once in three years, hence they were not known by name and were not given credit. Indians from the north, however, were seen at least annually, they were all known by name and credit was extended to them. At that time the rival fur companies even knew which Indians owed debts to the opposition company and would make sure that these debts were paid before taking furs.⁶

Changes in the kinds of material objects used in daily life had implications beyond just making life a bit easier. The new economic endeavour of fur trapping changed aspects of Indian social and political systems. For example, the new socio-political status of "trading captain" was introduced for the leader of a band bringing in good hunts. The trading captains were awarded special symbols of status by the traders, usually a coat styled after English naval uniforms, a top-hat decorated with ostrich plumes, and a flag. The journals of the traders contain many references to the



Inset. Facetted hollow metal beads are common on artifacts from the early twentieth century.



distress felt by the Indian trading captains when these symbols were withdrawn and they lost status in the eyes of their fellows.

Attachment to a fur trading economy also changed the way people associated in the subarctic. The scattered and seasonally variable food resources required that people live in small bands for most of the year and come together in large numbers only in late summer when more food resources were available. After Indians had become involved in the credit system of the fur trade they might find themselves obliged to leave the summer gatherings to hunt for the posts to which they were indebted. Nor did the posts really replace the traditional gathering sites, for the traders were not eager to have large numbers of Indians about them, partly because they felt prime hunting time was being wasted, and partly because as the numerically smaller group they might be in physical danger. For the Indians these summer gatherings were a time when the small bands of fall and winter were re-structured to take account of new marital alliances and to assure that each band had a sufficient number of people with appropriate skills to ensure the survival of the group.⁷

In addition to changes in social systems brought about by breaking up old patterns of association there was the development of a new group which stemmed from both Indian and European traditions. The new group, which included the founders of modern Metis populations, was the development of Indian accommodation to the traders insofar as the Indians promoted inter-marriage with Europeans to establish a business connection with the traders. The traders were quite willing to enter into such arrangements, not only for the sake of companionship in the absence of European women, but because the Indian women performed a number of important tasks related to the fur trade. As one Hudson's Bay Company trader explained to his employers:

...they clean and put into a state of preservation all Beaver and Otter skins brought by the Indians undried and in bad Condition. They prepare Line for Snow shoes and knit them also without which your Honors servants could not give efficient opposition to the Canadian traders they make Leather shoes for the men who are obliged to travel about in search of Indians and furs and are usefull in a variety of other instances...⁸

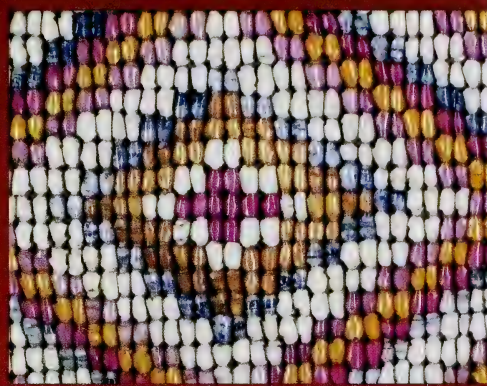
The Hudson's Bay Company at first refused to recognize officially that their employees were taking wives from the Indian populations. The evidence exists, however, in documents such as account books where men's debts often include items most likely purchased for use by wives. Among such items purchased by the men at Fort St. Mary's post on Peace

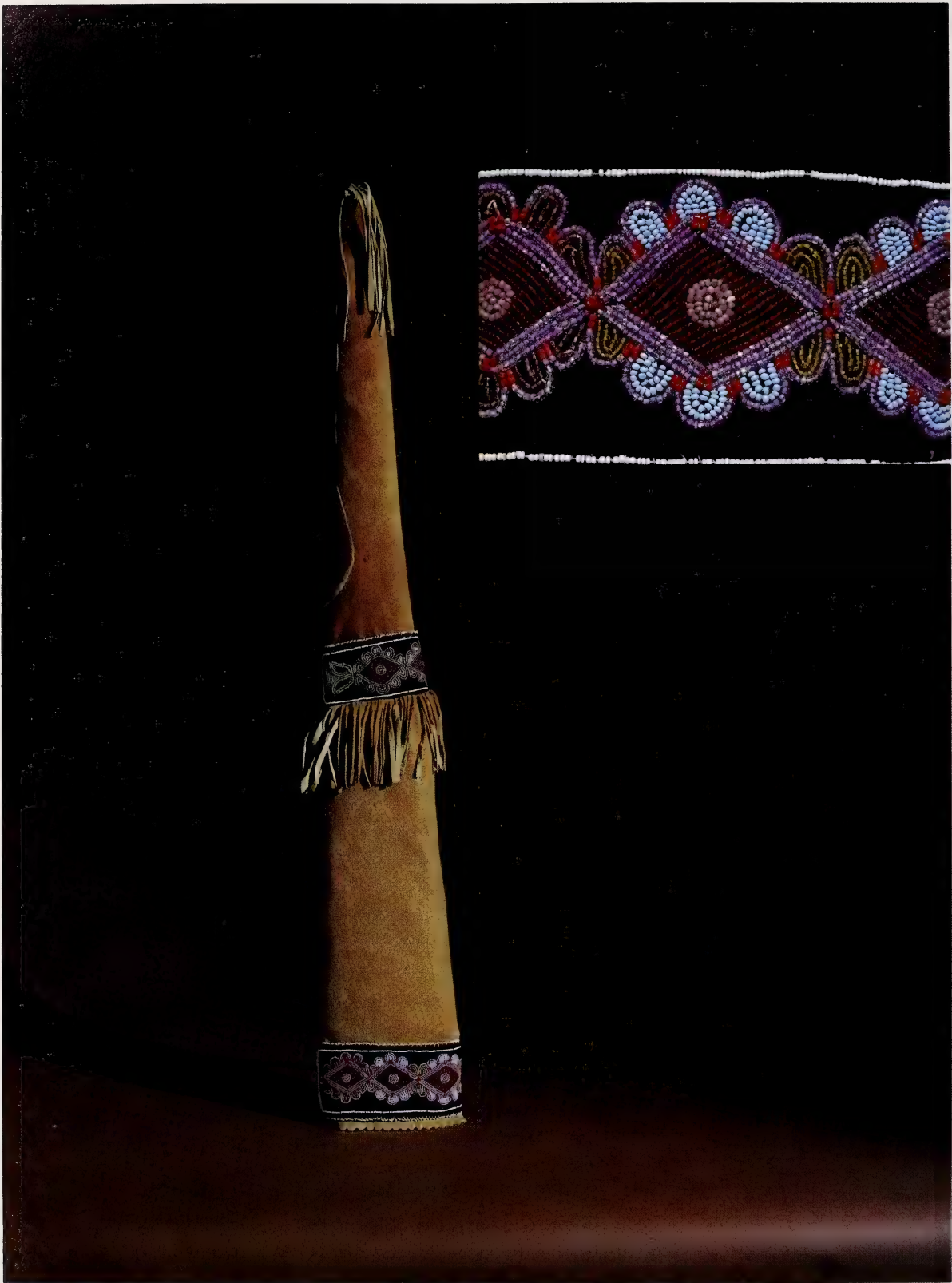
River in 1818 and 1819, for example, are cloth, scissors, needles, beads, thread, awls, gartering and moose skins. The moose skins may well have been prepared at the fort, for excavations at fur trade posts have almost invariably turned up whole or fragmentary bone fleshing tools which would have been used by Indian women. Some men at Fort St. Mary's were also buying "Shoes moose skins". Perhaps they were bachelors, but it is interesting at any rate to note that some items of Indian culture had found their way into the stock of goods for sale at a fur trade post.⁹

On the plains the Indians remained more aloof from the traders, but they also made several accommodations to European contact. By mid-eighteenth century horses had reached the northern plains from the American southwest where they had been introduced by Spanish explorers. With the gun, these mounted nomads developed a lifestyle which was to become the model of Indian culture across North America. Horses and guns allowed more effective exploitation of the basic resource, the bison. The fur trade and later the hide trade in the United States provided markets for the extra animals which could be slaughtered. The great wealth accumulated from the trade resulted in more than a change in material culture. Religious items began to be transferred for great values in horses and goods, with a concomitant elaboration of ceremonial procedure. To prepare the additional meat and hides which were the basis of wealth more hands were required. A wealthy man therefore needed several wives and the rise in incidence of polygamy, as well as numbers of wives per family, was a development of the post-contact period. Tipis became larger in the post-contact period to accommodate the larger families.¹⁰

Indians were not passive recipients of European material culture. Both fashion and a sharp eye for quality dictated what they would accept in the way of trade goods. In 1739 James Isham, the Governor at York Fort on Hudson Bay, wrote to his employers in England to indicate problems which Indians had found with a variety of trade goods. Mentioned are large pearl beads (colour and size unsatisfactory), kettles (bail fasteners were too weak and the large kettles were too expensive), powder (disliked texture and colour), blankets (six to nine inches too short), cloth (weak, narrow and thin), buttons (weak shanks), combs (weak), fire steels (inefficient), gunworms (short and too wide for the ramrod), French flints ("un-shapeable" for gun), yarn gloves (useless), hatchets (too large), knives ("bad blades and worse handles"), tobacco tongs (Indians not interested in them), twine (weak and uneven), powder horns (too crooked and weak), and rings (too large). The beads, gloves and tobacco tongs were sent back to England, and with them went "...samples of most part which is pleasing to Indians, and most conducive to your honours Interest".¹¹

More than a hundred years later traders still found their Indian customers to be choosy. The Earl of Southes-





wrote about the Indians' preferences at Carlton House on the North Saskatchewan river in 1859:

It amused me to see that fashion reigned here as imperiously as in more civilized lands; some fine, richly-coloured oval beads, the size of pigeon's eggs, which a year or two ago would have been generally admired, were despised and out of date, while the little trashy white ones, no bigger than a pin's head, were highly appreciated.¹²

An account left by Thomas Swain, Hudson's Bay Company trader at Mansfield House on Peace River, gives us some idea of goods that Indians particularly valued, as well as re-emphasizing the fact that items from Indian culture survived and were used in conjunction with European goods long after contact.

...at 3 a.m. I was disturbed with the report of several Guns which was discharged round my House, and was dubious it was the Natives going to attack and rob us, but when I enquired into the reason of their firing they informed me there was one of there relations died at the Old Company's fort and it was a Customary thing on such occasions to fire several Guns at his Departure.--and at 6 a.m. they put him in his grave, with the following Goods. 3 Guns, two yards of Cloth, 2 yds of Calico, 3 fathom of Tobacco, Powder, Ball Flints, Steel, 3 Moose Skins, Two Blankets Paint. Knives etc. at the same time making a speech over the corpse and telling him the use all these articles will be to him on his journey to the other world as the Guns and ammunition to kill him Cattle with, the Tob. to smoke when he his a hunting, the Cloth & Blankets to keep him from the cold, and the Moose Skins to make Shoes off for his long Journey to the other world, where they told him he would get a new supply of any articles he would stand in need off, as there was plenty of Traders there who sold there Goods at a much reasonabler rate than the Traders in this part. This is all the Ceremony that passed only his relations who sat around the grave quite unconcerned at his Death.¹³

New patterns and decorative motifs were part of the change in material culture in the early contact period. The introduction of European clothing, both on the backs of traders and explorers and as gifts and trade items, probably initiated an early trend to copying European tailoring in leather and cloth clothing. Peter Fidler, the Hudson's Bay Company surveyor, sketched

patterns for European-style men's and child's coats in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, presumably to guide his Indian wife.¹⁴ To date the best documented change in decorative motifs has been the introduction of floral designs in Plains Indian work. The diffusion of floral designs has been credited to the westward movement of native populations, especially the Metis of Red River, with the expansion of the fur trade.¹⁵ The Metis in their turn, it has been suggested, were influenced by decorative work on religious vestments and church ornaments, the patterns for which originated in France.¹⁶

In the earliest contacts between native and European cultures in western Canada the latter were interested in the promotion of their own commercial endeavors. The effect of these activities on Indian cultures was thus secondary, rather than directed by the traders. Later in the nineteenth century, in fact, the traders were at odds with missionaries who did wish to direct the course of native cultural development. Missionaries saw nomadic Indians as difficult converts and attempted to start settlements to facilitate the proselytization and "civilization" of the Indian populations of western Canada. They accused the traders of thwarting these endeavors. For example, in 1888 missionaries suggested that traders refused to sell twine to Indians because they would then stay about fishing lakes rather than hunt for furs.¹⁷ There may be some truth to this accusation, but there may also be an over-simplification involved. Examples of bark twine and babiche nets which probably date to the late nineteenth century exist in museum collections today, and their making was known no more than a generation ago in northern Alberta. While commercial twine might make it easier to produce a fishing net, it certainly was not the only alternative available.

But whatever motivated Indians to first become involved in the fur trade, whether the ease with which tasks could be achieved using new tools, utensils and weapons, or the status conferred by possession of European goods, the unforeseen long range result was an irreversible dependency on European goods and culture.

Civilization

Early in the nineteenth century native peoples of western Canada were faced with a new type of European influence. Missionaries of both Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations came to the west with the express intention of converting native societies to Christian beliefs and values.

Missionaries were established at the Red River settlement in Manitoba by the second decade of the nineteenth century but it was not until the 1840's that a really effective presence was established across the west. The objectives of the Oblate missionaries as spelled out in an 1853 directive were:

...that catechisms must be prepared in the language of each nation...that the missionaries must try to change the nomadic life of the population to a more sedentary one. To that end they were to use, among others, the following means: to show their neophytes how to build houses and till the land, to teach the most elementary crafts of civilization and to establish schools in every mission whenever possible ...the zeal of the missionary was to cover everything which related to the temporal welfare of his flock.¹

Although doctrines differed, these objectives were shared by missionaries of Protestant denominations who often were even more zealous in working toward their realization. Unlike previous contacts with fur traders and explorers, Indians were now faced with conscious attempts to change their culture. Not only did missionaries wish to introduce Christian values and morals, they wished to obliterate the native lifestyle which they considered inferior and evil compared to civilized European and Christian ways.

The sweeping changes which were the objectives of the missionaries required considerable control over native populations, hence the interest in replacing their mobile style of living with one based on agriculture. It was not an easy task. The Indians had made satisfactory adaptations to a fur trade economy and as long as that lifestyle was viable they resisted change. At Lac Ste. Anne mission near Edmonton, which was established in the 1840's and was the first Roman Catholic

Plate 8. Sister Beatrice Leduc, here seen at Aklavik in the 1950's, taught at several missions in Alberta and the NWT from 1925-1963. Her particular interest was moose hair tufting which she began to teach in craft classes c. 1931. (PAA OMI Collection)



mission outside of Red River territory, the Oblates found that:

Love of life in the woods and prairies had given the Indians an independence which constituted an almost insurmountable obstacle to civilization. They lived exclusively by hunting and fishing...the missionaries therefore tried to set a good example of hard work and manual labour.²

After 1870 the missionaries found an ally in the Canadian government in their efforts to bring about the civilization of the Indians. In 1870 control over most of the west passed from the Hudson's Bay Company to the government of Canada. The first interest of the government was to secure the west for settlement by forestalling any problems with the indigenous inhabitants. A series of Treaties was negotiated by which Indians surrendered claims to aboriginal title in return for reserve lands, annuities, and educational and other benefits in perpetuity. In order to fulfill their obligations with regard to educational benefits, the Canadian government turned to the system of schools already established by missionaries.

By 1870 day and boarding schools were being operated at missions. The new government provided grants to run schools on the newly created reserves. Since the per capita sum provided proved insufficient to operate schools in each of the numerous native settlements missionaries usually established boarding schools at central locations. A system of off-reserve industrial schools financed by the government and run by missionaries was introduced in the 1880's. In these establishments Indian children were effectively segregated from a tribal way of life to learn the languages, arts, industries and associated values of civilized society.

The total immersion of Indian children in European culture at these schools is illustrated by the 1902 annual report for the Crowfoot Boarding school situated ten miles away from Gleichen on the Blackfoot reserve.³ The main building at the school consisted of a center section three stories in height and two wings two stories in height. On the main floor were located an office, reception room, dining room, kitchen, working room and chapel. Upstairs there were dormitories and classrooms sufficient to accommodate twenty-five students. In the classrooms students learned reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, drawing and music. In addition to working on the farm and gardens which supplied the school's needs, the children had their own small gardens to look after. Industries taught included the care of horses and cattle for boys while girls learned to do general housework, sewing, knitting, and mending clothes. Every day half an hour was devoted to religious instruction in the Roman Catholic



Plate 9. Girls sewing class, Residential School, Grouard, Alberta.
(*Archdiocese of Grouard*)



Plate 10. Boys at work at St. Albert Industrial School, 1898.
(*Provincial Archives of Alberta. File B9513*)

doctrine and prayers were said morning and evening. Three times daily, after each meal, supervised recreation was scheduled. According to the report, the favorite sports of the boys were football, shooting with bow and arrow, swimming, fishing and horseback riding. Girls enjoyed playing ball, dressing dolls, and "etc". In all activities English was the language of communication.

Nothing of Indian culture seems to have been tolerated, except perhaps the use of bows and arrows in sport, an activity which had a European counterpart in archery. Some of the training provided at such schools might have been learned at home, for example sewing for girls, but children often were at the schools at the age these skills would have been learned in the family setting. Native students who spent a few years in such an environment became adept at utilizing the European material culture of the day.

Incentives were offered to encourage students to learn new ways. In the 1940's the Indian Affairs Branch introduced a system of proficiency badges as a way of encouraging students to learn useful, that is European skills. A system of color-coded badges was designed to signify proficiency achieved in cooking, woodworking, housekeeping, knitting, gardening, poultry raising, sewing, dairying, metalwork, weaving and leatherwork.⁴

Even earlier students were encouraged to enter their school projects in fairs as an incentive to produce good work. A prize list for Indian exhibits at the Provincial Exhibition in Regina in August of 1921 indicates that entries were accepted in sewing, embroidery, crochet, knitting, raphia basket making, drawing, writing, wood carving, plasticine work and weaving.⁵

A more detailed view of the kinds of work actually done by students comes from a 1947 exhibit. The craft work entered included baby layettes consisting of diapers, nighties, jackets, booties, and bonnets; fine embroidery in soft colours, cross-stitch articles; petit point cushions; knitted and crocheted work "of various kinds"; quilts; rugs (one with a design of a ship sailing into the sunset); children's dresses decorated with smocking, hand embroidery or fancy work in white thread; tailored shirts; knitted woolen socks, stockings and sweaters; and bedspreads, children's coats and suits made from recycled and redyed army uniforms. Samples of oats, wheat, canned meats, vegetables and berries were entered in the preserved foods category. These entries reflected the objectives of the government and schools as expressed by a spokesman from the Indian Affairs Branch:

We want particularly to encourage them to make and display warm, practical clothing, and canned food and grain, so they won't have to depend on commercial short supplies.⁶





An obvious result of the school programs was that Indian material culture came to share an even greater range of objects with the dominant European culture. Some of the handicrafts introduced in the schools illustrate a change in emphasis in Indian material culture as well. Previously European goods, styles, and motifs had been adapted to native uses, that is they were used to make items which were functional in daily life. Decorative work was applied to functional items and did not exist for the sake of art alone. In the schools the item produced might be of secondary importance to the lessons to be learned from its production. To teach sewing skills the instructors introduced forms and motifs familiar to them which often had no counterpart or function in the Indian lifestyle. Thus forms such as wall pockets, tea cosies, and glove cases came to be made by Indian students and to find their way into museum collections as examples of Indian material culture. Some of the new forms introduced were laden with European values such as the candle sticks and altar cloths produced for churches.

Plains and Subarctic Indians had different experiences as a result of missionary and government activities. The decline of bison herds on the northern plains in the 1870's caused great distress in Plains Indian culture. The missionary and government programs of directed cultural changes had a considerable impact on Indians faced with the necessity to find a new economic base if they were to survive as a people. In the north missionary and government activity came later and was generally less influential in changing the native lifestyle which had developed in response to the fur trade and was still viable well into the twentieth century.

Attempts to civilize Indians did not go unresisted. The idea of suppressing native culture was, after all, the idea of the Europeans, not the Indians. Outside of the schools Indians were much more in control of their interactions with Europeans. Casual wage labour for European settlers yielded enough money to buy basic necessities and could be accommodated within an Indian lifestyle. Where conflicts arose between the two cultures there was sometimes sufficient resistance from native people to prevent the introduction of new ways. For example, the continued practice of the plains Sun Dance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a factor in the eventual closing of the off-reserve industrial schools since parents took their children away from the schools at precisely the time that crops and gardens required extensive care.⁷

Aside from Indian resistance to assimilation another factor which prevented total suppression of Indian culture was the fascination of the general public with "exotic" cultures. Fair goers were interested in seeing, and if possible buying, exhibits of Indian work. A long list of entry categories for Indian work was part of the exhibit at the 1921 Regina Provincial exhibition. Included on the list were suits, shirts, coats, dresses,



vests, leggings, and moccasins decorated with beads, porcupine quills or silk thread; fire bags with bead or quill work; head bands; belts, gauntlets; stone pipes; gun cases; saddles and saddle cloths.⁸ The materials designs and decorative techniques were often adaptations from the early period of contact with European culture, but by the twentieth century these were accepted by Europeans and Indians as being typically Indian.

The 1947 exhibit reflects a continued public interest in Indian artifacts. A report on the exhibition noted:

A great quantity of typically beautiful Indian handwork has been done. It consists of bright beaded moccasins, belts and gloves done by the Blackfeet, Cree and Stony tribes, fur-trimmed mukluks, and even one unusual round beaded picture.

Feather headdresses as actually worn by the tribes in their warring days are among the most beautiful and elaborate articles on display. Also interesting are the many model teepees of rawhide, covered with Indian designs.⁹

The public interest in Indian material culture was not new. Collections of artifacts had been made by the earliest European traders, explorers and soldiers to come to North America. In spite of official policies some missionaries and government agents also showed considerable sympathy and appreciation for Indian culture. In the twentieth century the aim of complete assimilation was compromised to allow the development of handicraft and souvenir markets which, it was hoped, would help Indians achieve a measure of economic self-sufficiency.

Commercialization

At the end of the nineteenth century Indian culture was relegated to second class status by the Indian Affairs department. In public exhibitions the Indian lifestyle was compared unfavorably with European ways. At the Regina Agricultural Fair in 1891, for example, large posters reading "Note Our Progress," "Plough vs Bow and Arrow" and "Agriculture vs Hunting" were hung above the Indian school exhibit which consisted of grains, vegetables and various hand-made goods.¹

The Canadian government exhibit at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago was in the same spirit. The American Department of the Interior set the theme for the exhibit. It was "to show the civilized side of the Indian, more particularly in portraying the educational work which the Government is doing for its Indians."² As part of their contribution, the Canadian government constructed a model of an industrial school and populated it with students from western Canada who went about their normal daily routine of studies and training as part of the show.

The American organizers were adamant however, that the exhibit should not only present the civilized and "becoming civilized" side of Indian life:

To be picturesque and impressive, to satisfy the curiosity and philanthropic and scientific interest of people, the primitive Indian must be presented, living in his own habitation, and carrying on his own avocations, such as making baskets, blankets, jewelry, bead work, pottery, etc.³

The public impression created by this juxtaposition of lifestyles was described in a Toronto Empire review which referred to the Industrial school students as "coffee-colored" cousins of "some mute, inglorious 'Sitting Bull' working away in an improved and modern style" and then went on to compare the achievements of the "civilized Indian" with his uncivilized ancestors.⁴

There are also many curios of the warpath and other days, the hunt and the trail. On the edge of the space allotted to the Indian exhibit stands a camp made entirely of buffalo skins, probably the only one of its kind in the world, as the

Plate 14. Indian selling souvenir horns by the side of the railroad tracks in the prairie. c.1889. (*Public Archives of Canada. File PA-118157*)



buffalo is now extinct. These skins are exceedingly valuable, as money could not replace them. On all sides of this antiquated dwelling are fantastic drawings, and here and there imitations of the horrid bloody scalps that were taken by the Indian warriors as the penalty of some enemy's rashness or misdeeds.⁵

Aside from opportunities to promote their own programmes the Indian Affairs branch frowned on other Indian participation in public events, even though private entrepreneurs of the time were eager to engage Indians in "aboriginal" costume to appear in fairs and parades. In refusing his request to allow Indians to participate in the 1924 Calgary stampede parade the Deputy Superintendent General explained to Mayor Webster that "these public celebrations tend to unsettle (Indians) and undo much of the good which our supervision promotes."⁶ In another case Indian Affairs cited "the almost nude condition of some of the Indians in their aboriginal costume" as grounds for refusing permission for their participation in a Canadian Pacific Railways exhibition.⁷

Church and government efforts to civilize Indians failed, however, to dispel public interest in Indian culture. The need to include primitive Indians in The Chicago Columbian exhibition suggests that organizers knew that a civilized Indian was a dull Indian from the perspective of fair goers. Early in the twentieth century the Indian Affairs department began receiving lobbies from the public sector for assistance in preserving traditional Indian culture.

Foremost among the lobbyists were the Women's Art Association of Montreal and later the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. The goal of the latter organization was "to encourage, retain, revive and develop handicrafts and home art industries throughout the Dominion."⁸ The best way to ensure the revival and survival of traditional Indian work, the Guild felt, was to concentrate on commercial production "along the lines of utility." In other words, Indians should make what customers would buy. Very often this meant applying traditional materials such as birch bark and hides to the manufacture of non-traditional forms such as napkin rings, place mats, cushion covers and tea cosies. Decorative work likewise included a combination of aboriginal and post-contact techniques especially porcupine quill work, bead work, and silk thread embroidery.

Over the years, the Guild made a number of suggestions to the government as to how Indian crafts might be preserved. Among their suggestions were the teaching of craft work in Indian schools and provision of financial assistance to the Guild to aid its representatives and special instructors to visit schools and reserves to stimulate interest in craft work. One

Guild representative who visited Saskatchewan met a skilled craft worker who she subsequently recommended for a teaching position at the Qu'Appelle Industrial School. The Guild representative regretted that the piece she had seen the woman working on, a quill embroidered smoked hide tea cosy, was already sold at the time she saw it.⁹

The efforts of the Guild and public interest in general encouraged the government to become active in organizing displays and prizes for Indian handicrafts at exhibitions across Canada in the 1920's and 1930's. It was obviously a popular policy. The prize list for Indian "fancy work" at the Regina Agricultural Fair in 1937 included all the categories from the 1921 Regina exhibition (see pages 31,33) plus additional categories for armlets and cuffs; beaded and bone breast and back ornaments; beaded dancing whips, war clubs, tomahawks, knife sheaths, and table mats; moss bags; Medicine man's rattles; birch bark baskets; tanning; and a special category for any beaded article not otherwise listed.¹⁰

Beyond arranging exhibitions of Indian handicrafts and selling items through their Montreal shop the most significant work of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild in promoting Indian crafts was a 1935 enquiry into the state of native crafts. A questionnaire was circulated to Indian Agents across Canada to determine what types of articles were being made for what use, what designs and materials were being used, what kind of demand and supply existed, and the degree of interest the Indians themselves had in their work. Thirteen crafts were specified on the questionnaire: snowshoes, moccasins, leatherwork, quill-work, moose hair embroidery, beadwork, basketry, furwork, weaving, carving (wood, stone, bone, ivory, shell), wampum, metal work and pottery. Results of the survey, reported in 1936, "indicated the rapid decline of good work with the advance of "civilization", but agreed that with discerning encouragement much could still be saved, especially if increased markets could be found."¹¹

Some of the agents commented that handicrafts being produced by Indians were not "Indian" enough for potential customers. G.C. Laight, Indian agent for Edmonton, noted that a public demand existed for "real Indian work" but that Indians "with their modern ideas" were using fashionable buckles on beaded belts when the buying public wanted belts that tied with thongs.¹²

As a result of their survey, in 1936 the Guild asked for government funding to support a program to improve the quality and build markets for Indian-made products. The Guild's plan was to establish a central office through which handicrafts would be collected and distributed to shops run by the Guild and its affiliated institutions and societies.

REVISED PRICE LIST, INDIAN BASKETS & SOUVENIRS

Welfare & Training Service,
Indian Affairs Branch,
Department Mines & Resources,
Ottawa, Canada.

April 12/39

January 1st, 1939.

Cat. No.	Type	Price per doz.
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F.O.B. Ottawa

✓ 1	Fruit Tray - 2 drop handles - splint	\$4.50
✓ 2	Fruit Tray - splint, cord & grass 1 solid handle	6.00
3	Fruit basket, melon, 10" grass	4 50
✓ 3A	7" "	3.00
4	Fruit basket, melon, 10" cord	4.50
4A	7" "	3.00
✓ 5	Knitting Basket, Bell shaped, grass	4 50
✓ 6	Knitting Basket, Bell shaped, cord	4.50
✓ 7	Knitting bag, Juliette (round, open, with one heavy grass handle)	7.00
✓ 8	Crochet Ball - Acorn	4.00
9	Discontinued	
✓ 10	Shopper, flat, cord	5.00
11	Shopper, small	4.00
✓ 12	Book Bag, flat, grass	7.00
✓ 13	Shopper, large, St. R.	6.50
14	Discontinued	
✓ 15	Boston Bag	7.00
✓ 16	Handkerchief Box, 4½" square	2.50
17	Discontinued	

*P. Biggan
Fuld Drug Co.
Fulda, B.C.*

NOTE:

THE "WELFARE SERVICE, INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH,
IS NOT IN THE BUSINESS OF BUYING AND SELLING,
nor is it the intention to enter commercial
UNDERTAKINGS. IT IS ASSISTING INDIAN "WARDS
OF THE GOVERNMENT BY BRINGING TO THE ATTENTION
OF THE PUBLIC VARIOUS LINES OF INDIAN HANDICRAFT
FOR WHICH THERE IS SEASONAL DEMAND AND THROUGH
THE SALE OF WHICH THE INDIANS HOPE TO BECOME
SELF-SUPPORTING.

706 - 801

*above checked numbers sent to
H.C. Oliver,
Savary Lodge,
Radium Hot Springs, B.C. and also*

In the same year a reorganization of the Indian Affairs Branch saw the creation of the Medical Welfare and Training Division with responsibilities for schools, health care, employment, agriculture projects, the encouragement of arts and crafts, and the sale of handicrafts. The program outlined by the Guild was adopted and run by the new Division.

The commercial motive predominated in the art and craft program run by the Welfare and Training Division. Indians were assisted in marketing their crafts in the hope that they would thereby become self-supporting. A catalogue and price list, which was revised annually, was sent across Canada, to the United States and to parts of Europe. Figure 2 illustrates the first page of the 1939 list. The entire list contains over 80 items including a variety of styles of splint and grass baskets, tea pot mats and trays, birch bark photo frames, place mats, wooden napkin rings, paper knives, carved figures, needle books, button boxes, thimble and scissor holders, book marks, toy splint cradles, doll hats, bows and arrows (full size and miniature), paddles, war clubs, axes, tomahawks, and miniature tipis and canoes.¹³

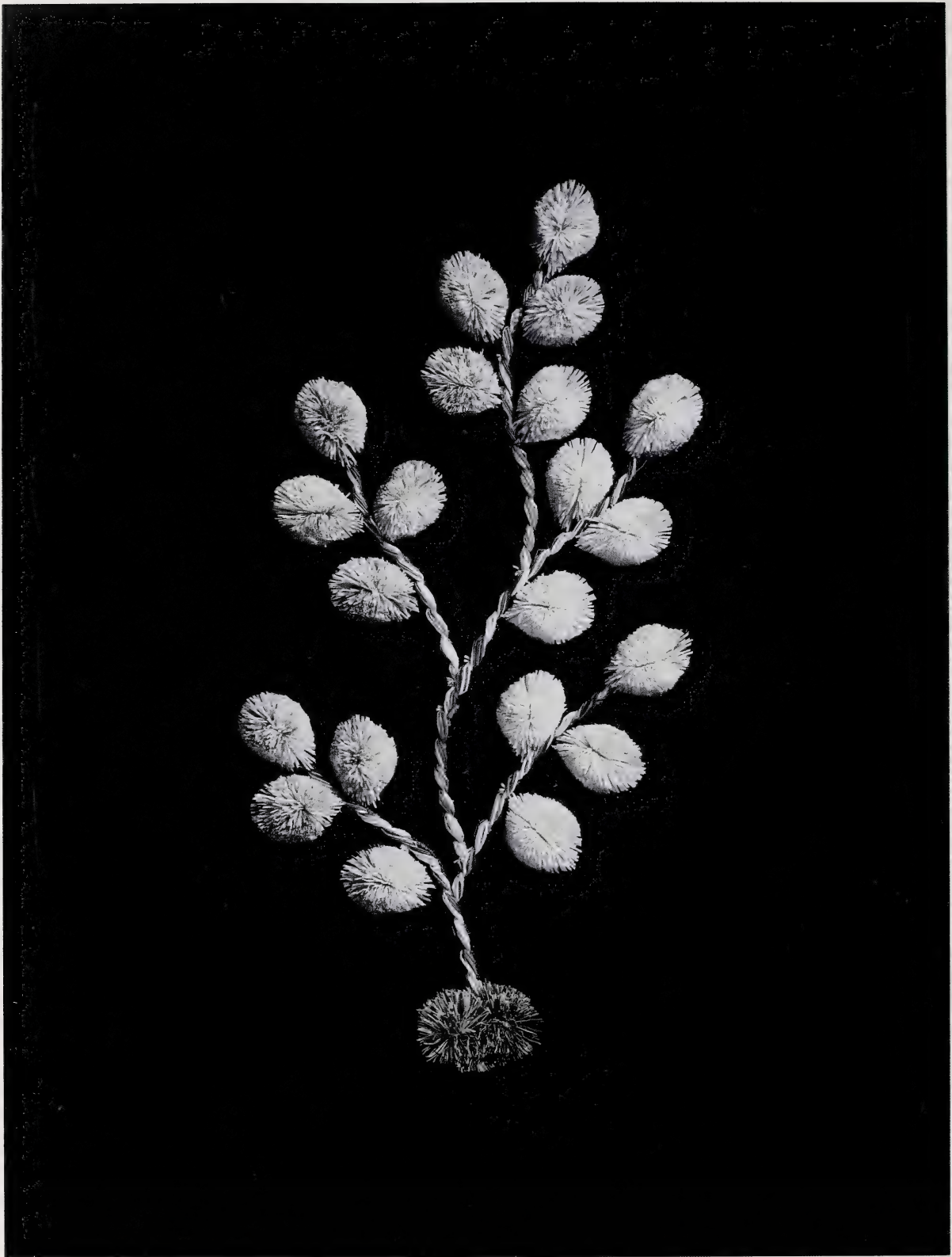
The efforts of the Welfare and Training Division were concentrated in Ontario and Quebec, in part because handicrafts were considered the only real source of income for those reserves and in part because they were close enough to Ottawa to facilitate easy management of the program. An obvious concern of the marketing system which was developed was a reliable source of craft work. Eastern reserves, close to the offices and warehouses of the program, satisfied this requirement.

In their search for markets the Welfare and Training service placed exhibits in National Parks in western Canada hoping to create local interest and to find commercial outlets for Indian handicrafts. Eastern Indian craft work thus found its way into many shops in western Canada and subsequently, through donations, into museum collections across western Canada.

Assistance was given grudgingly, if at all, to aid the development of handicraft markets in western Canada. Mr. Christianson, General Superintendent of Indian Agencies in Saskatchewan, in 1940 reported that a successful regional marketing program for handicrafts had been developed and asked for \$500.00 to continue the program. The money was refused and instructions issued that:

The Department does not expect...you... to devote a large proportion of your time to either the promotion of handicraft on the reserves or the sale of handicrafts at your office in Regina.¹⁴





The reason given was that in Saskatchewan Indians could and did make more money from farming. The government intended to concentrate its efforts in the west on the development of community farms.

A few western handicrafts did make it to Ottawa. Mr. Hoey of the Welfare and Training Division requested samples of shades for bridge lamps made by girls at the Blood Roman Catholic School in 1938. These "Indian" artifacts were made of parchment panels with alternating designs of Indian heads and Indian signs. Mr. Hoey was certain they would sell well.¹⁵ Samples of moccasins and gauntlets from Peace River in northern Alberta were also accepted for possible sale in the same year.¹⁶ A year later, however, unspecified samples of craft work from the Blood school were returned with the interesting recommendation that "tinsel should not be used in genuine handicraft work."¹⁷

In spite of Ottawa's neglect, handicraft work appears to have found local markets in western Canada. In 1939 the Australian government requested that a group of Indians attend the Royal Agricultural Show in Sydney as a rodeo attraction. Eight Indians representing the tribes of southern Alberta (Blood, Blackfoot, Sarsi, Stony) attended and took with them approximately half a ton of handicrafts for sale to the Australians. A larger consignment would have been preferred, but it was difficult to assemble articles since there was a large local market for Indian work. The shipment consisted mainly of beaded leather clothing, but there were also hide preparation tools, bone knives, antler awls, peace pipes, stone tomahawks and carved poplar Indian baby dolls in moss bags. The Stony Indians contributed bows and arrows and "replicas" of rattles, drums and whistles.¹⁸

Mass production of craft items was also attempted in the west. In 1943 Father G. Forcade, OMI, assistant principal at the Grouard residential school in northern Alberta, applied for and received government assistance to establish a factory to produce "standard models of moccasins, house slippers, work mitts and gloves."¹⁹ Father Forcade went to Quebec to learn about the slipper industry and to acquire the machinery necessary for production. Records have not been located which indicate the degree of success achieved by Father Forcade's factory, part of which is shown in Plate 18. There is no slipper factory at Grouard today.

Commercialization has had a number of effects on Indian material culture. Set lists of crafts, whether in entry lists for fair exhibits or in the catalogues of the Welfare and Training Division, have established the standards of what constitutes Indian crafts and led to homogeneity in these crafts. The inventory of crafts is much the same across the country with the exception of some regional specialities such as moose hair tufting in the North West Territories. Factories in western and eastern Canada now turn out moccasins of similar standard design and decoration which obscures the great variety of styles and decorative motifs once typical



and still seen in limited quantities in the handmade work produced by individual artisans. The tourist market for souvenirs has also brought about the production of many miniature items. Models of tipis, canoes and snowshoes are cheap and quick to make and fit into a suitcase much more neatly than would the full scale originals.

By the mid-1960's the estimated annual value of Indian handicraft production in Canada was just under one million dollars.²⁰ Approximately two-thirds of this value was accounted for by items produced for sale rather than personal use indicating the importance of commercialization in sustaining Indian craft work. The prairie provinces were atypical compared to the national pattern in that most of their handicrafts were produced for personal use rather than sale. One reason for this difference may be that western Indians had become less acculturated than Indians in other areas of Canada. The lack of government assistance in developing national markets for western work may also have been a factor contributing to the observed ratio.

In 1975 the National Indian Arts and Crafts Corporation was established to promote and develop the Canadian Indian arts and crafts industry. This organization includes Indian arts and crafts societies and corporations across Canada. The industry expanded rapidly in the late 1970's. At the beginning of the 1980's domestic sales of Indian arts and crafts are estimated to total \$36,000,000 annually.²¹

Revitalization

In the second half of the twentieth century Indian people across North America have actively rejected assimilation and sought to establish their own identity. Common aspirations and problems, as well as ease of long-range communications and travel, have resulted in a general, or pan-Indian identity which supercedes tribal and regional distinctions. It has been suggested that in western Canada the very institutions designed to bring about assimilation, the residential schools, actually facilitated the development of Indian activism because they brought together students from a large area and taught them the skills necessary to both cope in the dominant society and to resist it.¹

Pan-Indianism has resulted in a broad sharing of material culture and to some extent in the revival of old forms. The material symbols which have become badges of Indian social identity are items which are associated with "Indian" in the public mind. These symbols are often thrown together irrespective of their different origins. Plains feather headdresses and Navajo silver and turquoise jewellery are worn by people who have no ties either to the plains or to the southwest but who wish to express their Indian ancestry.

The poster announcing the Hobbema Indian Days and Rodeo (Figure 3) further illustrates the manner in which symbols from diverse tribes are used together to convey Indian identification.² The dancer is wearing the elaborate feather costume which originated in Oklahoma and has been introduced to the Canadian plains within the last fifteen years.³ The border around the poster is a Navajo Yei figure originally represented only in religious sand paintings and later in weavings. The international nature of the event is advertised, but the fact that Hobbema is a Plains Cree community is not mentioned.

The summer circuit of Indian Days or pow wows attracts people from a large region if not internationally. Ideas and objects are shared at these gatherings which leads to further similarity among Indian cultures. As celebrations of Indian identity these events also encourage archaism, that is, the deliberate attempt to imitate or revive aspects of the culture at an earlier time. Old style dresses (Plate 19) are prized possessions although they are now often made of imitation suede or felt. The shawl (Plate 20) was made by an Alberta

Plate 21. A Stony Indian Medicine Man with his medicine bundle at Banff, c. 1928. The clothing and other objects surrounding him show many European influences in style and materials. (*Public Archives of Canada. File PA—44566*)



Hobbema

Canadian and American

Indian Days

and Rodeo

August 7, 8, and 9, 1981

Sponsored by the Ermineskin Band
Chief and Council
Hobbema, Alberta

Guest Hosts: *Mandaree Singers*

Fort Berthold
North Dakota

MEN'S FANCY DANCE

1st - \$1200 2nd - \$800
3rd - \$700 4th - \$400

MEN'S TRADITIONAL DANCE

1st - \$1200 2nd - \$800
3rd - \$700 4th - \$400

LADIES FANCY DANCE

1st - \$800 2nd - \$600
3rd - \$400 4th - \$200

LADIES TRADITIONAL DANCE

1st - \$800 2nd - \$600
3rd - \$400 4th - \$200

ANNOUNCERS
\$400 total

for information phone
Maurice Wolfe (403) 585-3741

BOY'S FANCY DANCE

1st - \$300 2nd - \$200
3rd - \$100 4th - \$50

BOY'S TRADITIONAL DANCE

1st - \$300 2nd - \$200
3rd - \$100 4th - \$50

GIRL'S FANCY DANCE

1st - \$200 2nd - \$200
3rd - \$100 4th - \$50

GIRL'S TRADITIONAL DANCE

1st - \$300 2nd - \$200
3rd - \$100 4th - \$50

TEE WEEES

\$30 per day for 100 tee wees
\$4000 total
Approximately \$18,000.00 in cash

HAND GAME TOURNAMENT

\$10,000 Prize Money
Three Events

for information phone
Brian Mills (403) 585-3741
585-3817

- Traditional Giveaway
- Visitors Welcome
- Tribal Dance Nightly

- Security
- Drummers & Singers
(must be present for row call)
- paid daily

ALL CONTEST PARTICIPANTS MUST BE IN GRAND ENTRY (Grand Entries)

NO LIQUOR ALLOWED

NO RATIONS

Tribe and Sponsors not responsible for accidents, thefts, travelers aid, or arrests.



Plate 19. Woman's dress. (*Catalogue* page 58)



Indian lady after a model seen in a United States museum. Styles may be revived from cultural traditions other than one's own. Plains Cree ladies have been known to make dance costumes after patterns for eastern Woodlands dresses seen in an Indian craft book. In most instances revivals are not from pre-contact aboriginal culture but represent only an earlier phase in the contact between Indian and European cultures.

School programmes have been developed to reinforce Indian identity by preventing further loss of cultural traditions and by reviving old ways. Programs now exist for all grades from kindergarten through post-secondary years in some major centers in western Canada. Crafts play an important part in many of the curricula, again providing the material symbols which announce Indian identity to members of in- and out-groups. Where school programs involve detailed historical information they may actually counteract the homogenizing effect of broad sharing by emphasizing historical tribal and regional distinctiveness. Such knowledge may not change sharing habits but simply make borrowers conscious of the historical roots of the customs and costumes they have adopted.

Revitalization and commercialization have been mutually reinforcing. Craftwork is a statement of the existence of a separate culture. The heightened profile of Indian culture, on the other hand, enhances the market potential for crafts in native and non-native communities. It is not an accident that the dramatic increase in craft production and sales cited at the end of the previous section coincides with movements to re-establish Indian identity.

The good market has had something of a band wagon effect in that Indian craft production agencies will produce whatever sells irrespective of tribal or regional appropriateness. Ojibwa from Ontario now make model Northwest Coast totem poles. Iroquois produce Cree-style twig duck decoys and dress cornhusk dolls in Plains Indian costume.

Nor is borrowing limited to production of souvenir items. In Alberta, Cree and Blood Indians have recently begun to produce high quality sterling silver jewellery. Initially both groups were strongly influenced by Navajo styles which suggests that the craft was selected for its Indian connotation. Both groups have subsequently moved away from Southwestern motifs to develop their own distinctive styles. To some extent there is an interest on the part of the silversmiths to go beyond reinforcing their Indian identity and to develop art forms which are of significance aside from particular national or ethnic associations.

With respect to North American Indians generally, revitalization does not mean a return to aboriginal material culture so much as it means maximizing distinctions between Indians and non-Indians. The

artifacts selected for the purpose may reflect pre-contact origins, for example in the use of quills and hair for decoration, or they may reflect early post-contact adaptations as in the use of beads and cloth. The message may equally well be carried by totally modern artifacts such as T-shirts and lapel buttons embellished with appropriate slogans.

Catalogue

Note: Only the longest dimension is given for each of the objects exhibited. All artifacts are from the collections of the Provincial Museum of Alberta.





SMOKE TANNED HIDE

Smoke tanned hides are soft and flexible. After flesh and hair have been removed the hide is further treated by washing, applying softening agents such as lard and animal brains, scraping, stretching, wringing and smoking. Once all this work was done by hand using materials provided by nature. Today it is not uncommon to use automatic washers and dryers and commercial fabric softeners in the processing of smoke tanned hides.

RAWHIDE

Hides prepared by defleshing and dehairing produce a stiff but tough material. Rawhide was used to make a great variety of containers and other items such as shields, drums, rattles, moccasin soles and cordage which served many purposes. Because rawhide shrinks as it dries it was used to bind together pieces of composite artifacts as in the stone heads and wooden handles of pestles, hatchets, clubs and lances. As drying sheets for berries large pieces of rawhide shielded the fruit from ground moisture and reflected heat to hasten the drying process. This versatile material is less used today but still shows up on drum heads and in craft items such as model parfleches and miniature shields used to decorate key rings.



SCRAPER HANDLE, Blood, late 19th/early 20th century

H65.263.13

length - 34 cm

Bone scraper handle with leather thong. Scraping tools with bone handles have been used to remove hair from hides since prehistoric times. The hoe-like shape of the handle allowed the worker to chop, slice or drag the tool over the hide to remove the hair. A blade could be attached with pitch glue or rawhide lashings. Sometimes the blade was lashed in a vice-like arrangement between the handle and a piece of wood backing.

CHERT END SCRAPER, pre-contact

H73.93.261

length - 4.3 cm

Pre-contact cutting tools were generally made of stones which had been split or flaked to produce a sharp edge. Attached to a bone, antler or wooden handle, a stone scraping tool like the present example would make an effective hide working implement.



SINEW

Sinew or tendon is a strong fibrous cord that fastens muscles to bone. Sinew was prepared by cleaning off any clinging flesh after which it was dried, thoroughly washed, then pounded into thread-like fibres. It was used in applications which, today, would call for thread, cord or twine.

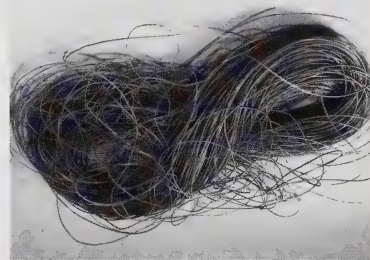


BONE AWL, Cree, c. 1968

H68.147.4

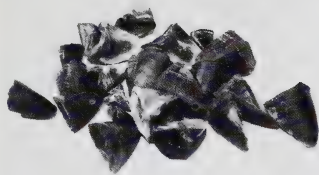
length - 13.5 cm

A major item in the pre-contact tool kit, sharp-pointed bone awls were soon replaced by more durable metal awls and eyed metal needles provided by traders.



BABICHE, Cree

Thin strips of rawhide were used in a wide variety of ways: in weaving nets and game bags; lacing snowshoes; to make snares; and in lashing together objects ranging from willow back rests to toboggans. Although still made, babiche has largely been superseded in use by commercial twines and ropes.



DEW CLAWS

Dew claws are the false hooves which occur on the lower legs of deer and other ungulates.

They are strung on ornamental fringes or in bunches for rattles. Post-contact replacements for dew claws include metal dangles, thimbles and bells of several sizes.



BIRCH BARK BASKET

collected c. 1947

H64.64.6

height - 16 cm

The bark of the birch tree is a light-weight, durable and pliant construction material.

The best time to collect bark is in the spring when it can be most easily removed from the tree. With bark, bone awls, spruce root for lacing, wood strips or branches for frames and reinforcing, and pitch for waterproofing pre-contact Indians were able to use bark for a variety of domestic utensils, canoes, and even as the covering for their dwellings.

Many traditional forms of birch bark work like baskets, bowls and canoes are still produced today. Now, however, these are usually craft items for sale to tourists rather than integral parts of a daily lifestyle. In addition, a great variety of souvenir items based on non-natives designs, for example, place mats and napkin rings, are produced from birch bark for the tourist market.



SPRUCE ROOT

Roots of black spruce provide a long, strong cord for sewing or lacing pieces of birch bark together and for making woven baskets.

Spruce grow in the same soft, moist ground as birch, and the roots, which grow near the surface, are easily dug up by hand or with a stick. The root is split into strands of suitable size as it is pulled from the ground. To keep the roots moist and flexible enough to work with, they are submerged in water.



PORCUPINE QUILLS

Decorative work using porcupine quills was produced by many North American Indian tribes before contact. Quills were pulled from the hide and washed, sorted by size and dyed in preparation for use in decorative work on hide and bark. Post-contact changes in techniques include the use of aniline dyes and the replacement of sinew in sewing and weaving by thread or products imitative of sinew such as dental floss.



MOOSE HAIR SAMPLE, Slave

The use of moose hair as a decorative medium appears to have pre-dated European contact.¹ Post-contact innovations include the replacement of native vegetable dyes by aniline dyes and the development of the bristle technique of embroidery which requires the use of scissors to cut and contour the bundles of moose hair. Most craft work uses dyed white winter mane hairs, but recent works have also been produced using natural brown and white hairs. Patterns for embroidery are drawn free-hand in ink on leather or in flour and water paste on velvet.



BIRCH BARK CONTAINER,

Cree or Chipewyan

c. 1933

H74.63.1

height - 17 cm

Birch bark container sewn with spruce root lacing. Rim reinforced with wood splint.



MOCCASINS, Blackfoot
early 20th century

H66.348.2A/B
length - 25 cm

Man's smoke-tanned hide moccasins decorated with bands of plaited red quills. Tongue and upper margin edged with red glass beads.

Hide footwear was retained long after most articles of clothing were being made of European cloth and in European styles. Early explorers and fur traders adopted native forms of footwear for their own use. Today moccasins and mukluks are produced by individual artisans and on assembly lines both for personal use and commercial markets.



GUN CASE, Sarsi

pre-1922
H66.233.21

length - 95 cm

Canvas gun case with both ends heavily beaded in geometric design. Outlined in stroud and fringed with leather. Hand-sewn with thread. Cases protected guns from dirt and moisture. They also provided another surface for creative expression.



MITTENS, Slave
1928

H69.65.1A/B
length - 34 cm

Moose hide mitts lined with wool and decorated with cotton embroidery thread in floral design. Wolverine fur trim. Wool tassels and security string. Machine sewn with thread.



TEA COSY, Chipewyan

pre-1922
H66.233.128

height - 28 cm

Black velvet, feather-filled tea cosy lined with brown striped cotton. Glass and metal bead decoration in floral pattern. Purple silk ruffle. Hand sewn with thread.



SINGER SEWING MACHINE

c. 1890
H66.277.280A

Small and portable, such hand operated machines are still used to sew everything from clothing to canvas tipi covers. Sewing machines were readily available in western Canada by the late nineteenth century. Many Indian girls were taught to use sewing machines at residential schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

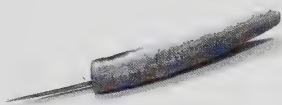


POUCH, Athapaskan

late 19th or early 20th century
H66.365.49

length - 21 cm

Pouch of elk or deer hide decorated on both sides with silk embroidery and metal beads in a floral design. Beaded leather fringes on side seams. Hand sewn with thread.



AWL, Blood
early 20th century
H65.227.8
length - 16.3 cm

Traders introduced off-set metal awls with sharp points at either end. Handles of bone, antler or other material were provided by the purchaser. When one point became dull the awl was reversed. Homemade awls were sometimes made from nails or other sharpened pieces of metal.



CROOKED KNIFE, Cree
1973
H73.112.33
length - 26 cm

Among the most useful tools introduced by European traders, the canoe knife made wood working much easier. Commercially manufactured blades were available, but often the knife was entirely homemade with a blade worked from a flat steel file, or, in the example exhibited, from a trap spring. The knife was held with the cutting edge toward the user, the fingers of one hand laid along the handle to help steady the blade. The knife was drawn slowly toward the user to shave the wood into the desired shape. The specimen exhibited is a right handed knife. These knives are variously known as curved, canoe, or crooked knives or by the Cree word "mocotaugan".



SHIRT, Blackfoot
1889-1905
H62.7.1
length - 66 cm

Elk or deer hide shirt decorated with aniline dyed quillwork panels, hairlocks, and leather fringes. The narrow sleeves sewn at the wrists represent a modification of a pre-contact shirt pattern in which each flowing sleeve was constructed from the front third (approximately) of an entire deer or elk hide.



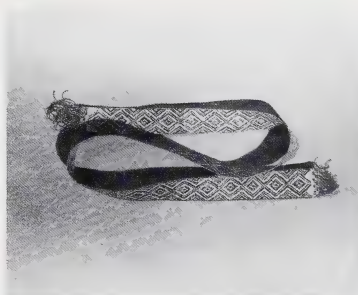
SCRAPER, Cree
early 20th century
H70.10.4
length - 32 cm

Elk antler scraper with metal blade, secured with cloth and leather thongs.



FLESHER, Cree
c. 1970
H72.47.3
length - 33 cm

Oval metal pipe flattened and notched at one end. Such implements were used to remove bits of flesh adhering to a hide in preparation for tanning. Originally hide preparation tools would have been made of bone or antler. Now metal, often obtained from old machinery, is commonly used.



QUILLED BAND Nahanni
pre-1922
H66.233.193
length - 106 cm

Unfinished belt of dyed porcupine quills woven on a bow loom using sinew warp and cotton weft threads. Quills have been trimmed on underside. Careful selection of quills of uniform size has produced a fine, even geometric pattern.



NAPKIN RING

Early 20th century

H62.2.288

circumference - 17 cm

Birch bark napkin ring decorated with cross-hatched undyed porcupine quills; edged in sweetgrass. Hand sewn with black thread.

The napkin ring fits very well a description of napkin rings made by Rice Lake Ojibwa in 1905 which were "made of birch bark ornamented with white porcupine quills in a stitch which ladies call 'herring bone'. This stitch, which is raised, gives the effect of delicate carving in ivory."²



DRESS, Stony

c. 1930

H72.43.1

length - 113 cm

Dress of white elk hide. Geometric beadwork on canvas panels on bodice front and back, and on sleeves. Fringe at waist incorporates pre-contact (dew claws) and post-contact (glass beads) decorative elements. Dress is hand-sewn with thread.

The curved line of beadwork across the chest is a carry over from a pre-contact dress style in which a flap of hide with the animal's tail at center formed an undulating line across the chest and shoulders.³



NECKLACE, Ojibwa

c. 1936

H64.64.25

length - 50.5 cm

The necklace is made from the mid-sections of natural and aniline dyed orange porcupine quills strung on thread. The medallion consists of front and back birch bark covers edged with sweetgrass and seven inner leaves of thin birch bark. The front of the medallion is decorated with an "S" in orange quill stitching and "Jasper Park Canada" hand lettered in India ink. Stamped on the back cover is "Ojibway Tribe Shawanaga Reserve."

This item is typical of crafts produced on reserves in central Canada and marketed across Canada by the Indian Affairs branch of the Canadian government.



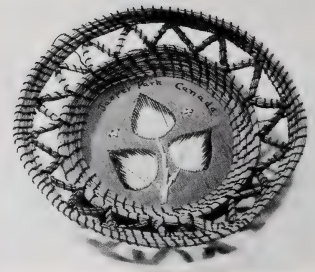
WALL POCKET, Plains

pre-1922

H66.233.140

length - 49 cm

Wall pocket of brown velveteen, backed with red wool. Pockets decorated with glass beads in mirror image stylized floral design. Hand-sewn with thread.



BIRCH BARK PLATE, Ojibwa

c. 1947

H64.64.22

diameter - 14 cm

Souvenir plate of birch bark and sweetgrass. Stylized floral design in natural porcupine quill embroidery. "Jasper Park Canada" hand lettered in India ink. "Made in Canada by the Ojibway Tribe Shawanaga Reserve" stamped on back.

Similar plates without the quill work and lettering are still produced for the tourist market.



GLOVES, Stony

1936

H71.135.1A/B

length 37 cm

Smoke tanned moose hide gloves or gauntlets with cotton linings. Geometric and floral design in beadwork. Machine and hand sewn with thread.

Gloves appear to be a post-contact introduction. Some subarctic groups have called them by Indian words meaning "mittens for the fingers" or "mittens of the whites".⁴



MOOSE HAIR EMBROIDERY, Slave
1980

H80.96.3

length - 25.5 cm

Pussy willow design in natural moosehair tufting or bristle technique, on brown velveteen.

The bristle technique used for the pussy willows required the use of scissors and so must be of post-contact origin. The stems are formed by couching several hairs using an overlay stitch. This technique was used in pre-contact moosehair decoration.



CANOE, Ojibwa
1980

H81.26.2

length - 40 cm

Model canoe of birch bark with spruce gunwales and crosspieces, red vegetable fibre lashing and porcupine quill decoration.

Miniature canoes have long been common craft items at souvenir stands.



GUN CASE, Slave
1975

H75.121.1

length - 99 cm

Commercially tanned moose hide with red velveteen panels decorated with dyed moosehair embroidery. Several hairs have been twisted together and then couched with overlay stitching. Open end of the gun case pinked with ordinary scissors. Hand sewn with thread and sinew.



SLIPPERS, Ojibwa
1980

H81.26.1A/B

length - 27.5 cm

Slippers based on low cut moccasin pattern produced for commercial sale. The pair exhibited is made of commercially tanned sheep skin with the fleece on the inside and rabbit fur ankle trim. All stitching is with polyester thread and done on a machine.

This pair was made in a moccasin factory in eastern Canada. Sheepskin moccasins are also mass produced at a factory on the Peigan Reserve in Southern Alberta.

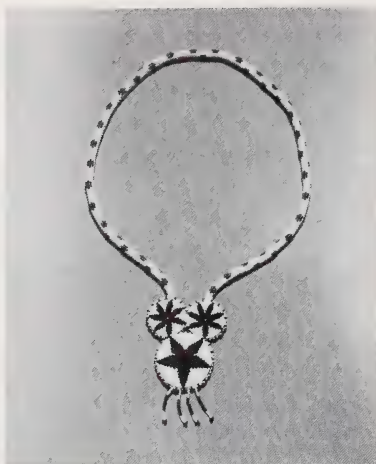


MOCCASINS, Cree
1980

H81.12.3A/B

length - 24 cm

Boy's moccasins of smoke-tanned deer hide. The moccasins were used for general wear and as part of a pow wow dance outfit.



NECKLACE

1981

H81.26.5

length - 41 cm

Necklace in geometric design made for sale in craft stores by an Indian or Metis craft worker from Edmonton. Rope of hollow woven beadwork. Medallions of beadwork couched onto cotton reinforced with paper and backed with commercially tanned leather.



GLOVES, Slave

c. 1970

H73.139.1A/B

Unsmoked deerskin woman's gloves decorated with silk embroidery. The cuffs are lined with blue brocade cloth. Machine sewn with thread.

The 1915 Department of Indian Affairs annual report noted that girls at the residential school in Fort Providence made moose and deer skin gloves and moccasins decorated with silk embroidery for sale to tourists.



CAPOTE, Cree

c. 1973

H73.175.1

length - 121 cm

This capote was constructed from a six point Hudson's Bay Company wool blanket. Most raw edges are bound with red wool fabric. The capote is tied with a loom-woven Assomption sash in red, blue, green, yellow and white wool.

The earliest mention of Hudson's Bay "Point" blankets is in the records of that company for 1779.⁵ The blankets are noted for their warmth and could be worn as wraps without alteration. Mid-nineteenth century paintings show Indian dressed in capotes similar to the example in this exhibit. Capotes made from white blankets helped to camouflage hunters in winter.

ASSOMPTION SASH

early 20th century

H65.235.79

length - 270 cm.

Hand-woven woollen sashes were being made in eastern Canada at least as early as 1800. French Canadians may have adapted a North American Indian technique of finger weaving or braiding to European materials. By the late nineteenth century traders were supplying their customers with machine-woven sashes from Great Britain.⁶



NECKLACE

1981

H81.26.4

length - 40 cm

The necklace is made of bone hairpipes, glass beads and cowrie shells strung on imitation sinew. It was made as a commercial craft item by Indian or Metis artisans in central Canada.



MUKLUKS, Subarctic

c. 1960

H76.100.17A/B

Height-25 cm

Smoked tanned moosehide soles; red and blue wool stroud uppers. Wool yarn ties and tassels, muskrat trim. Cotton lining. Cotton embroidery decoration. Machine sewn.



SHIRT, Blood

pre-1915

H68.204.2

length - 74 cm

Red wool shirt decorated with glass beaded panels in geometric design. Horse hair fringe on sleeves and across back of shirt. Hand and machine sewn with thread.

The placing of the decorative beadwork panels reflects pre-contact shirts, but materials and tailoring of the shirt are adopted from European sources.



POUCH, Slave

pre-1922

H66.233.157

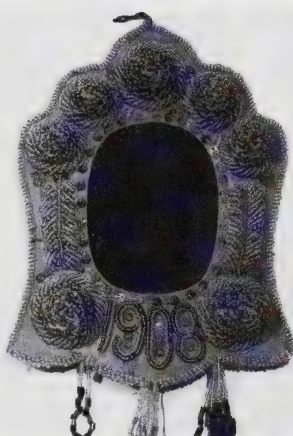
length - 31 cm

Smoke-tanned hide pouch with silk thread embroidery in a floral design. Braided hide strap, wooden button. Hand sewn with thread.



BEADS

Glass beads made in Italy were among the earliest items bartered in exchange for furs. A large variety of beads was available but the Indian customers preferred small beads made from drawn glass tubing. Small beads were most easily adapted to pre-contact designs executed in quills and hair. They also permitted considerable scope in creating new patterns. The availability of a colourful substitute which required no special preparation lead to a decline in the use of quills and hair as decorative materials.



PICTURE FRAME

1908

H68.159.149

height - 30 cm

Cardboard frame faced and backed with cotton and lined with velveteen. Medallion and leaf design in raised beadwork of silver and transparent light blue beads. Hand sewn with thread.

Similar craft work was produced in Victorian households.



GLOVE CASE, Dogrib

pre-1922

H66.233.100

length - 27.5 cm

Elk or deer hide glove case in an envelope style. Edges pinked and top-stitched in pink cotton thread. Silk embroidery in stylized floral design.

Unsmoked native tanned hide has been adapted to a European form and function.



MOCCASINS, Slave

pre-1922

H66.233.148A/B

length - 27 cm.

Smoke tanned hide moccasins with pointed toes. Silk thread embroidery in floral design. Vamp edged with piping of silk thread wrapped around a horse hair core.



DANCE SHAWL, Cree
1980

H81.10.3
length - 152 cm

Rectangular navy blue stroud dance shawl fringed with unsmoked moose hide. Decorated with red polyester ribbon and multi-faceted iridescent burgundy beads, metal tinkle cones and cowrie shells. There are leather thongs for tying the shawl in front. The design for this shawl was taken from a shawl displayed in the United States.



BIRCH BARK BASKET, Slave
1977

H77.103.19A/B
height - 24 cm

Birch bark berry basket sewn with spruce root. Hide strap.

This basket has been made with less care than often was the case with craft work from earlier in the century, when the spruce root was often dyed and stitching was carefully executed to form part of the decoration.



BELT, Stony
c. 1930

H77.80.6
length - 87 cm

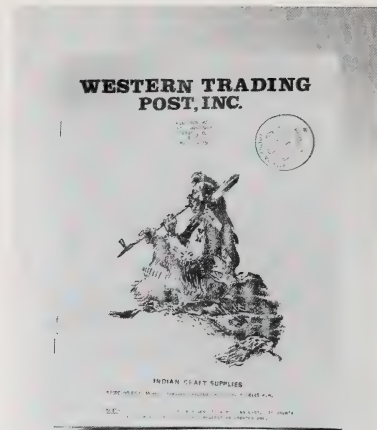
Beadwork on canvas backing in geometric pattern. Hand sewn with cotton thread. Fastened by three brass snaps.



GUN CASE, Nahanni
1928

H65.235.69
length - 110.5 cm

Moose hide gun case with two black velvet panels decorated with glass beads in geometric and stylized floral design. Hand sewn with thread and sinew.



CRAFT CATALOGUE

Some items craft workers need cannot be bought in regular stores. Specialty shops supply unusual articles such as tinkling cones, hair pipes and rare beads, and even imitation sinew. This allows craft workers to make objects that otherwise would be impossible to produce.



HAIR PIPES (PLASTIC)

Indians in the eastern United States made tubular beads of shell, bone and copper in pre-contact times. Euro-American manufacturers first produced copies in materials such as silver and glass but finally settled on bone from domestic cattle after they observed Indians stringing bone pipe stems as beads. Bone hair pipes became a favorite decoration on the plains in the 1800's.⁷

Although bone hair pipes are still being manufactured they have largely been replaced by less expensive plastic replicas which come in white or a range of bright colours



DANCE SHAWL, Cree
1979

H81.87.1
length - 157.5 cm
Green polyester dance shawl with nylon fringe and liquid embroidery decoration.

Shawls are part of a woman's dance costume. In the present example the maker has economized by sewing fringe only half way around the edge of the shawl, she explained that since the shawl was worn folded in half no one would notice the unfinished edge.



BELT, Plains Cree

1979-1980
H81.9.3
length - 81 cm
Glass beads sewn on to canvas backed with cotton print. Belt fastens with commercially made buckles.



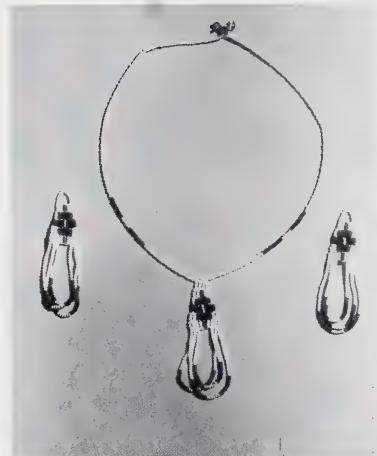
DEW CLAW BAG, Plains Cree
1981

H81.12.1
height - 36 cm
Dew claw bags are made of hide taken from the legs of grazing animals (moose, deer, wapiti, caribou). This bag is made of moose hide lined with flannelette. The beads and cowrie shells were obtained through barter with Indians from British Columbia. The bottom of the bag is made of smoke-tanned hide taken from the neck of the moose.



BRAID TIES, Plains Cree

1979-1980
H81.9.1A/B
length - 60 cm
Glass beads sewn on to canvas backed with cotton print. The beaded panels are tied around the braids. Strips of beaver pelt, obtained from Indians at Chilliwack, British Columbia, add length to the braids.



NECKLACE, Plains Cree
1980

H81.10.2
length - 36 cm

EARRING PENDANTS, Plains Cree
1980

H81.10.1A/B
length - 6.5 cm.
Cut beads strung on thread and wire, commercial metal snap fastener on necklace. A thin wire has been worked into the design of the triangular sections of beadwork to make them lie flat.



CHOKER, Plains Cree

1979-1980
H81.9.2
length - 28.5 cm
Choker of glass beads sewn on to canvas backed with cotton print. The matching braid ties, choker and belt were made to be worn as part of a woman's traditional dance costume. The beadwork design is an original creation of the artisan.

Footnotes

Abbreviations used in the references and the credits are as follows:

HBA Hudson's Bay Archives, Ottawa and Winnipeg
 PAA Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton
 PAC Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa

Early Contact

- ¹ Ray (1978:26-34) discusses the various roles and relationships of Indians in the fur trade.
- ² Rich, 1951: 362.
- ³ Lamb, 1957: 64-65.
- ⁴ Morton, 1929: 47.
- ⁵ Lamb, *op.cit.* 72-73.
- ⁶ Saskatchewan (Edmonton) District Report for 1815. HBA, B.60/e/1.
- ⁷ For further discussions of the structure of band societies in the subarctic see articles in Damas, 1969.
- ⁸ Johnson, 1967: xcix-c.
- ⁹ HBA, B. 190/d/1&2.
- ¹⁰ These and other changes in Blackfoot culture as a result of the fur trade are discussed in Lewis, 1942.
- ¹¹ Davies, 1965: 278-80.
- ¹² Southesk, 1969:24.
- ¹³ HBA, B.41/a/1 entry for July 25, 1803.
- ¹⁴ Wallace, 1952: 39.
- ¹⁵ Brassier, 1975: 52-57.
- ¹⁶ Morier, c.1979: 28-32.
- ¹⁷ Canada, 1888: 166.

Civilization

- ¹ Carriere, 1979:14
- ² *Ibid.* 11.
- ³ PAA OMI collection, Cluny Mission, File 299. Letter from J. Riou to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 1902.
- ⁴ PAA OMI collection, Hobbema Mission, File 94 and 95. R.A.Hoey, Superintendent of Welfare & Training, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa to principals and teachers of Indian schools, February 24 1943, and "General Directions to Use Proficiency Badges." directive of May 8, 1943.
- ⁵ PAA OMI collection, Cardston Mission, File 39. Circular re 1921 Exhibition from W.M. Graham, Indian Commissioner, May 27, 1921.
- ⁶ PAA OMI collection, Hobbema Mission.
- ⁷ Gresko, 1975:175-179.
- ⁸ PAA OMI collection, Cardston Mission, File 39, *op. cit.*
- ⁹ PAA OMI collection, Hobbema Mission, *op. cit.*

Commercialization

- ¹ Review of 1891 Regina exhibition (PAC RG10 Vol 3863 File 83,690).
- ² T.J. Morgan, Commissioner, Department of the Interior; Washington, D.C. to Hon. Hayter Reed, Commissioner, Indian Affairs N.W.T., Regina Sept 12, 1892. (PAC RG10 Vol. 3865 File 85,529).
- ³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴ *Toronto Empire*, October 7, 1893. (in PAC RG 10 Vol. 3865 File 85,529).
- ⁵ *Ibid.*

- ⁶ Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs to Mayor Geo.H. Webster of Calgary Dec. 3, 1923. (PAC RG10 Vol. 3827 File 60,511-5).
- ⁷ Assistant Deputy & Secretary, Indian Affairs to J.M. Gibbon, General Publicity Agent, Canadian Pacific Railway Company, July 13, 1917. (PAC RG10 Vol. 3827 File 60,511-5).
- ⁸ Canadian Handicrafts Guild pamphlet (in PAC RG10 Vol. 7908 File 41000-9).
- ⁹ "Report on Qu'Appelle Agencies," Sept. 5, 1913 by Amelia M. Paget for the Canadian Handicrafts Guild (PAC RG10 Vol. 7908 File 41000-9).
- ¹⁰ (PAC RG10 Vol. 4010 File 254,713).
- ¹¹ *The Canadian Handicrafts Shop*, report for 1936(in PAC RG 10 Vol. 7908, File 41000-9. Examples of the Questionnaires are in RG 10 Vol.7, File 41202-1)
- ¹² G.C. Laight to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, Sept. 19, 1935. (PAC RG10 Vol. 7 File 41202-1).
- ¹³ (PAC RG 10 Vol. 7908 File 41000-11).
- ¹⁴ T.R.L. MacInnes, Secretary, Indian Affairs to Mr. M. Christianson, Nov. 22, 1940. (PAC RG10 Vol. 7554 File 41,211-1).
- ¹⁵ Blood Indian Agency report for Feb., 1938 by J. Pugh, Indian Agent and R.A. Hoey Superintendent, Welfare and Training Division to J. Pugh, March 12, 1938.(PAC RG10 Vol. 6374 File 764-11 Part 1).
- ¹⁶ R.A. Hoey, to Mr. Oliver Oslie of Peace River, Alberta, July 13, 1938.(PAC RG10 *Lesser Slave Lake Industries* File 41131-1).
- ¹⁷ R.A. Hoey to J.E. Pugh May 8, 1939. (PAC RG10 Vol. 7551 File 41000 B-10).
- ¹⁸ Letters from G.P. Schmidt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Alberta Inspectorate to The Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, Dec. 30, 1938 and Feb. 21, 1939 and "Indians from Alberta's Reserve to sell Relics at Australia Exhibition," *Calgary Daily Herald*, Thurs. Jan. 19, 1939. (PAC RG10 Vol. 4010 File 253,430).
- ¹⁹ Father G. Forcade, OMI, to R.A. Hoey, Aug. 17, 1943. (PAC RG10 Vol. 6366, File 761-11 Part 1)
- ²⁰ "Indian Handicraft Production 1963-64 Estimated Annual Value", Appendix A to Report of Handicraft Development Program. (PAC RG10 Vol. 8814, File 1/14-1-0 Part 3).
- ²¹ Information circular with news release for National Indian Arts and Crafts Corporation 1981 Christmas sale in Edmonton.

Revitalization

- ¹ Gresko, 1975: 179-181.
- ² Crowfoot, 1981: 69.
- ³ Raczka, 1978.

Catalogue

- ¹ Turner, 1976
- ² Letter from Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves, Ottawa, to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, April 5, 1905. (PAC RG 10 Vol. 7908 File 41000 B-10).
- ³ Conn, 1974:62-63; 75.
- ⁴ Morice, 1928: 95.
- ⁵ Johnson,1956 and MacKay, 1935.
- ⁶ Barbeau, 1941: 24-27.
- ⁷ Ewers, 1957.

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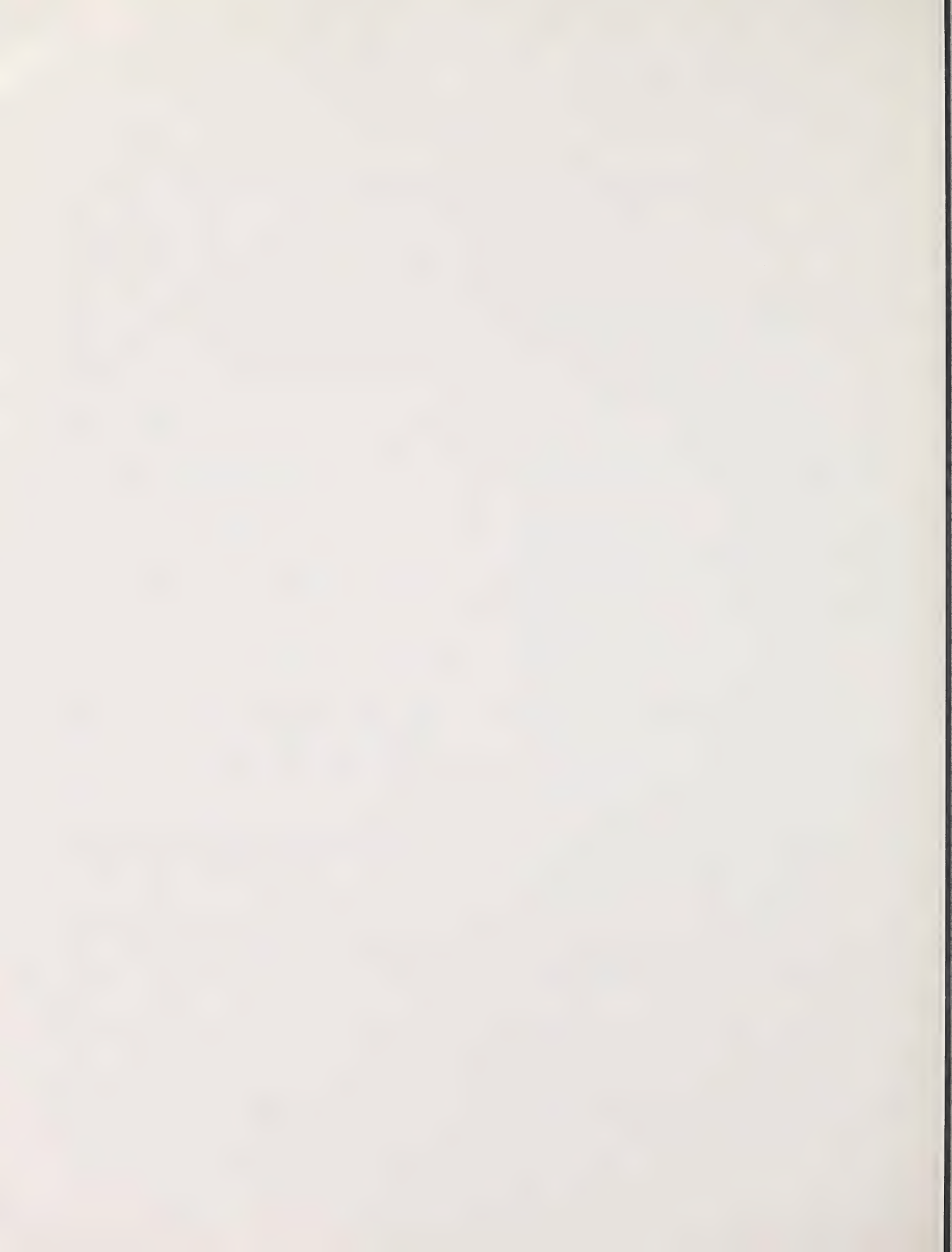
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N.L.C./B.N.C.



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